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THE EMPIRE OF ORISSA.

By PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

I. Kapilendra or Kapileśvara (1435—70).

VERY little is known about the founder of the most powerful dynasty of Orissa, the Sūrya-vaṃśa dynasty, which ruled over the eastern coast of the Indian Peninsula for a little over a century. In the South Arcot District the founder of this dynasty was known as the Kumāra-Mahāpātra even in 1464-65. In two inscriptions only, one at Gopināthpur in the Cuttack District, he is stated to be descended from the race of the Sun¹. Kapilēśvara's relation, Gaṇadēva, Rāutarāya, the viceroy of Koṇḍaviḍu in 1455, also mentions him as being descended from the Solar race.² We are totally ignorant about the circumstances which brought him to the throne after the extinction of the Eastern Gaṅgas. According to inscriptions, discovered up to date, Narasimha IV is the last known king of this dynasty and his latest known date is 1397 A.D.³ The late Manmohan Chakravarti notes that there is an inscription of this king in the Śrī Kurmām temple, on the eleventh pillar of the *maṇḍapa*, which is dated 1402-3 A.D.⁴ The accession of Kapilendra or Kapileśvara cannot be placed earlier than 1434-35. The date given in the records of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri is decidedly wrong.⁵ According to that record the accession of the king took place at camp Kirttivāsa on Wednesday Kākaṛā 2, Su. 4. But Sewell mentions that Kapileśvara's accession took place in 1454⁶ and he follows Hunter, who places that event in 1452. All of these dates are incorrect, as Manmohan Chakravarti has already proved. The correctness of Manmohan Chakravarti's calculations is corroborated by the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir*.⁷ The local accounts of Orissa such as the *Puri Record* (called *Mādālā Pāñji* in Oriyā) places another king between Narasimha IV and Kapileśvara. He is called Bhānudeva⁸. As Kapileśvara's accession did not take place till 1435 there is plenty of room to place two or three scions of the Eastern Gaṅgas after the last known date of Narasimha IV and before the beginning of the Sūrya-vaṃśa dynasty.

During the last days of the Gaṅga dynasty Orissa had lost her prestige and she was being hard pressed by the independent Sultāns of Bengal from the north, the Bahmanī Sultāns from the west and the emperors of Vijayanagara from the south. Sewell's list supplies us with a clear instance of changes in the overlordship of Koṇḍaviḍu, when it was in the possession either of the kings of Orissa or the emperors of Vijayanagara. One Lānguliya Gajapati was succeeded by the Reddi king Rācha Venka (1420-31). Then came two sovereigns of Vijayanagara, who are named Pratāpadeva (Devarāya II) and Harihara. They were succeeded by king Kapileśvara of Orissa⁹. The date of the rise of Kapileśvara coincides with that of the commencement of the decline of Voḍeyar or Yādava dynasty of Vijayanagara. He ascended the throne of Orissa during the lifetime of Devarāya II and continued to rule till the Śāluva usurpation. It opened a glorious career for him and permitted him to conquer the whole of the Eastern coast of India, at least as far as Trichinopoly District of the Madras Presidency. No other king of Northern India and no sovereign of Orissa ever succeeded in ruling over such a large portion of Southern India. The conquest of the Tamil country by Kapileśvara was no temporary occupation. The Eastern Tamil Districts and practically the whole of the Telugu country remained in his occupation for over ten years. This is proved by an inscription of the reign of the Vijayanagara emperor Virupākṣa, according to which, on account of confusion caused by the invasion of the king of Orissa the festivals in the temple of Śiva at Jāmbai in the South Arcot District ceased for ten years, sometime before 1472-73 A.D. The drama *Gaṅgāddāsa-Pratāpavīḍaśam* also refers to an invasion

¹ *JASB.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, pt. 1, pp. 173-79.² *Above*, vol. XX, 1891, pp. 390-93.³ *JASB.*, vol. LXIV, pp. 133.⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 182, note 1.⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181 note.⁶ Sewell, *A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 48 and note 3.⁷ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXVIII, 1899, p. 285.⁸ *JASB.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 182.⁹ *Sketch of South Indian Dynasties*, n. 48.

of Vijayanagara by the king of Orissa.¹⁰ Another inscription in the South Arcot District records that in 1464-65 the village of Munnur was actually in the occupation of *Kumāra Mahā-pātra* Kapilēśvara, son of Ambirādeva. We have therefore to admit that from 1464 till the date of his death in 1470 Kapilēśvara was in possession of the whole of the Eastern Coast of the Indian Peninsula from the Balasore District of Orissa to the extreme south of the Trichinopoly District. We have no means so far of deducing the exact chronology of events in the process of these conquests, but we obtain some help from Musalman histories. The best of these are no doubt Firishta and the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir*. Kapilēndradeva was the contemporary of Sultān 'Alāuddīn Aḥmad II, who ascended the throne on the 21st February 1435. One of the earliest events connected with the king of Orissa, in the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir*, is a statement of the condition of western part of the Telugu country. It is stated in this work that the leader of the Hindu chiefs of the country above the Ghāts was an Oriyā. Kapilēśvara is not mentioned by name, but the statement made about the number of elephants which this Oriyā chief possessed proves that the king of Orissa himself had come to occupy the most prominent position among the Hindu chiefs of the Telugu speaking country. It is stated that at that time a chief named Sanjar Khān was occupied in the delightful pastime of capturing innocent Hindu villagers of the plains of Telingana and transporting them as slaves into the interior of Deccan.¹¹ At this time Sultān 'Alāuddīn Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī is stated to have said that it was dangerous to meddle with a man who possessed more than two hundred thousand elephants, while the Bahmanī monarch did not possess more than one hundred and fifty. This is just the beginning of Kapilēndra's interferences in affairs outside Orissa proper. The next mention of Telingana in the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* is in connection with the rebel chief Muḥammad Khān, to whom the district of Rāyāchal in that locality was assigned.¹² Gradually Kapilēndra came to be regarded as the suzerain of Telingana, and the occasion soon rose to put him to the test. Though Varangal had been occupied in 1423, the districts of Telingana both above and below the Ghāts still remained to be conquered. According to Firishta, Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī determined to conquer Devārkonḍā and sent Khwājah-i-Jahān with a large army, and the fort was besieged. He sent an appeal for help to Kapilēndra, who marched so swiftly with his army that he caught the Muhammadan general unawares. The besieged also sallied out and attacked the Musalmans from the other side. Caught between two armies, Khwājah-i-Jahān was defeated and compelled to fly.¹³ The Muhammadans never attempted to rally, and Musalman historians had to find some other excuse for Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī, as he never attempted to cross swords with Kapilēndra, so long as he was alive.¹⁴ It is probable that on this occasion Kapilēndra wiped out the Redḍi sovereigns of Kondavidu and other places.

A drama named *Gaṅgādāsa-Pratāpavilāsam* by Gaṅgādhara mentions that Kapilēndra had united with the Bahmanī king and invaded the territories of the Vodeyar or Yādava dynasty of Vijayanagara. In view of his hostile relations with the Sultāns of Bidar, it is not possible to believe that he had invaded Vijayanagara in alliance with any Musalman power. The subsequent reference to his wars with the Bahmanī Sultāns prove definitely that he, at least, was at no time in amicable relation with any Musalman king. The *Gaṅgādāsa-Pratāpavilāsam* says that immediately after the death of Devarāya II of Vijayanagara in 1446, Kapilēndra allied himself with 'Alāuddīn Aḥmad II Bahmanī and advanced as far as Vijayanagara, but had to retire after a defeat in the hands of Mallikārjuna.¹⁵ This story was

¹⁰ Report of the Asst. Archl. Supdt., S.C., 1906-7, p. 84.

¹¹ Ind. Ant., vol. XXVIII, p. 237.

¹² Ibid., p. 238.

¹³ This is known as the battle of Devārkonḍā and its date is approximately 864 A.H. = 1450 A.D. according to Firishta.

¹⁴ Briggs The Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India, vol. III, pp. 456-58; I. A., vol. XXVIII, p. 244.

¹⁵ S. K. Ayyangar, Sources of Vijayanagar History, Madras, 1919, pp. 65-66. The author omits to identify Pāvāchala with Pāvagaḍh near Champaner in the Panch Mahals District of Bombay. It is the Pavagaḍh of Marāṭhā chronicles.

evidently an invention of Vijayanagara Court chroniclers to hide the shame of their sovereign after his defeat at the hands of the Orissan Monarch, whom they referred to as "the Oddiyân" contemptuously. This supposed joint expedition of 'Alâuddîn Aḥmad II is not mentioned in Musalman histories also. Though the chroniclers of Vijayanagara say that in 1446 Mallikārjuna defeated Kapilēndra, we find that correct statements are made in South Indian inscriptions about the state of the Tamil country which Kapilēndra had conquered. Kapilēndra's conquest of northern Tamil Districts is not a myth as supposed by Prof. Aiyangar of the Madras University. "The aggressiveness of Orissa is seen in the claim made in behalf of the Gajapatis of a successful advance by them as far as Kanchi, in a dramatic romance called the Kāñji-Kāveri-Pothi."¹⁶ An inscription, No. 93 of 1906, states that on account of the confusion "caused by the Oddiyân (i.e., the king of Orissa)" the festivals in the temple of Śiva at Jāmbai in the South Arcot District had ceased for ten years.¹⁷ This inscription is dated 1472-73. From another inscription, dated 1470-71, of the reign of the Śāluva chief Narasiṃha (?) we find that great confusion was caused by the invasion of the king of Orissa about eight or ten years earlier, and the temple of Vishṇu at Tirukoilur could not therefore be repaired.¹⁸ Two inscriptions from Muṇṇur in the South Arcot District prove that that part of the Tamil country was actually in the possession of Kapilēndra in the Śaka year 1386=1464-65 A.D. Both of these records are incised on the walls of the Ādavallesvara temple in the village of Muṇṇur in the Taluka of Tiṇḍivanam. Both of them mention "*Dakṣiṇa-Kapilēśvara-Kumāra Mahāpātra* son of Āmbīra." No. 51 of 1919 records "a gift of land for 'Ahamōvrahoga' festival (?) and repairs to the temples of Tirumulattanamudaiyar-Mahādeva and Perumal-Purushottama in the same village."¹⁹ The same record is repeated once more on the walls of the same temple (No. 92). In dealing with this inscription the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Shastri state "these are dated in the Śaka year 1386 (A.D. 1464-65) and epigraphically confirm the statement about the southern invasion of the Orissa king noticed on page 84 of the *Annual Report* for 1907 . . . our inscriptions clearly prove that this southern conquest by the combined armies was an event that happened about six years later. It establishes also that the earlier conquest by Gajapati was not a passing inroad only, but almost an occupation of the southern country right up to Tiruvarur in the Tanjore District and Trichinopoly."²⁰ The obsession of South Indian writers about the joint invasion of Vijayanagara by the Bahmanī Sultān and Kapilēndra continues from the date of Gaṅgādhara up to our own times. It is therefore necessary to prove first of all that Kapilēndra of Orissa could not have been an ally of any of his contemporary Sultāns of Bīdar. 'Alâuddīn Aḥmad II Bahmanī died in 1457 and was succeeded by his son: 'Alâuddīn Humāyūn, who ruled over the Bahmanī empire for four years only. Inscription No. 1 of 1905 clearly indicates that the occupation of the South Arcot and Tanjore Districts took place about ten years before 1471, i.e., in 1461, i.e., about or immediately after the death of 'Alâuddīn Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī. Firishṭa and the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* agree in stating that immediately after the death of 'Alâuddīn Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī and the accession of his infant son Sultān Nizām Shāh Bahmanī, Kapilēndra invaded the Bahmanī empire with a large army and almost reached the gates of Bīdar, the Bahmanī capital. The details of the campaign are not given, and from the tone of Firishṭa it appears that the Bahmanī army, unable to cope with the invaders in the field, retired within the walls of the capital. Most probably Kapilēśvara and his ally the Kākatiya chief of Varangal, who is described by Firishṭa as the Rāy of Telingana, were purchased off. It appears that after the crushing defeat of the Musalmans at the battle of Devārkoṇḍā the Bahmanīs never sallied out into the plains from the Deccan plateau, and after the death of Humāyūn Shāh, Kapilēndra crushed the Bahmanī power and invaded the metropolitan district, paralysing

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.¹⁷ *Annual Report of the Asst. Arch. Superintendent, Southern Circle*, for 1906-7, p. 84.¹⁸ *Ibid.*¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1918-19, p. 52.²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

the Musalman attacks and inroads till the date of his death. After the death of Devarāya II of Vijayanagara and the consequent confusion in the southern Hindu empire, the control of the empire of Vijayanagara over the eastern coast of Bay of Bengal ceased and Kapilēndra, secure from attacks from the west, extended his dominions as far as Tanjore and Trichinopoly. The Munṇur inscription gives the area of his southern dominion in the following words, 'Kapilēśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra', as the chief is called, was the son of Āmbiradeva, and is stated by both records to have been previously the *Parīksha* (Viceroy) of Kondavidu.²¹ But at the time of the inscription he was in the position of the *Parīksha* of Koṇḍavidu, Koṇḍapalle, Addanki, Vinukondā, Pādaividu,²² Valudilampattu-Uśāvādi, Tiruvarur, Tiruchchilapalle (Trichinopoly) and Chandragiri."²³ This list shows that the eastern Tamil country with the exception of Madurā and Tinnevely in the extreme south had been conquered by Kapilēndra from the emperors of Vijayanagara, just as he had wrested Telingana above the Ghāts from the Sultāns of Bidar. There could have been no love lost between Kapilēndra of Orissa and the Bahmanī Sultāns, and consequently the dramatist Gaṅgādhara's statement in the *Gaṅgā-dāsa Pratāpavilāsam* cannot be regarded as accurate. There is further epigraphical corroboration about Kapilēndra's relations with the Sultān of Bidar in the Kṛishṇa plates of Gaṇadeva of Kondavidu dated 1435 A.D. Gaṇadeva claims to have defeated two Turushka princes, evidently of the Bahmanī dynasty, as there was no other Musalman monarchy in South India at that time except the Bahmanī empire. It cannot be understood why at Munṇur, a place included within the dominions of Kapilēndra, he is called *Kumāra* and *Mahāpātra* ten years after the date of the Kṛishṇa copper-plates. Of course in his own country Kapilēśvara was acknowledged as the king in all inscriptions with proper titles. He is called *Gauḍēśvara*, *Gajapati*, *Karṇāta-Kalabarakeśvara* and *Mahārāja*. Most of these titles are given in the⁶ short votive inscriptions in the temples of Jagannāth of Puri and the Lingarāj temple at Bhuvaneśvar.²⁴ They are not given in detail in the Copināthpur inscription.²⁵ In Gaṇadeva's copper plate grant he is called Kapilēndra Gajapati in the metrical portion. There cannot be any doubt therefore of the fact that the titles *Kumāra* and *Mahāpātra* in the Munṇur inscription are due to the ignorance of the scribe about the titles and real position of Kapilēśvara.

Gaṇadeva's Kṛishṇa inscription raises some interesting points, which were not decided when it was deciphered in 1891. Gaṇadeva was clearly the viceroy of Kondavidu, but he came of the same family as the emperor Kapilēśvara himself. His grandfather's name was Chandradeva and his father's name was Guhideva. Yet he is called Rāutarāya. The Telugu scribe spells it Rantarāya as well as Rāhuttarāya, but this is really the same as the Oriyā term Rāutarāya, which is applied to the younger sons of Oriyā chiefs of the present day. I learn that in the Mayurbhanj State the king's eldest son is called *Tikāil*, the second son the *Chhoṭarāya* and the third son *Rāutarāya*.²⁶ *Rāuta* cannot be *Rāhutta*, but on the other hand is the same as the *Rāvat* of Rajputana. The Kṛishṇa inscription shows that in the sixteenth century a man of a collateral branch of the royal family also could be called *Rāutarāya*. Another interesting term is the adjective *Ayapa* applied to Gaṇadeva. *Ayapa* is the corruption of

²¹ Mr. H. Kṛishṇa Sastri thinks that he was Viceroy of the Koṇḍavidu and Daṇḍapāda. In reality Daṇḍapāt means a Viceroyalty in Oriyā and is not the name of a place.

²² Mr. Kṛishṇa Sastri uses the word Daṇḍapāda a second time after Vinukondā, which shows that this place was the seat of the Oriyā Viceroy of the extreme south.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

²⁴ *JASB.*, vols. LXII, 1893, pp. 92-93. In 1926 I succeeded in saving these valuable inscriptions at Bhuvaneśvar, but the authorities of Puri Temple have destroyed these valuable records in their own temple by covering them with cement and plaster. My attempts to clean them failed.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, pp. 175-78.

²⁶ Twenty-five questions addressed to the Rajahs and Chiefs of the Regulation and Tributary Mahals by the Superintendent in 1814, and the answers given thereto illustrating the established practice in regard to succession to the qulees, &c., Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, reprinted 1905, p. 5.

Sanskrit *Āryaputra* "the Lord's son." Details about other achievements of Kapilendra are to be found in the form of slight allusions in the Gopināthpur inscription. He is called the lion of the Karmāṭa elephant, the victor of Kalavaraga (Gulbarga of the Bahmanis) the destroyer of Mālwa (the Khalji Sultāns of Mālwa), the defeater of Gauda (the independent Sultāns of Bengal of the second dynasty of Ilyās Shāh). We are at a loss to understand how he could come in touch with the Khaljis of Mālwa, because the powerful Gond kingdoms of Chanda and Deogadh and the Haihaya Rajputs of Bilāspur intervened between him and Mālwa. But most probably he allied himself with the Gond of Chanda and Deogadh in an attack of the eastern frontier of Mālwa. According to tradition, for which there is no corroboration, the independent Sultāns of Bengal lost southern Bengal to Kapilendra, and no attempt was made by the former to recover Midnapur and Howrah Districts from the Oriyās till the reign of 'Alauddin Husain Shāh. Henceforth all kings of Orissa and even the petty Gajapatis of Khurda or Puri assumed the high sounding title *Nava-koṭi-Karmāṭa Kalavarakeśvara*, "the lord of the nine lākhs of Karmāṭa and Gulbarga," and Gaudeśvara.

In the Gopināthpur inscription Gopinātha Mahāpātra states that Kapilēśvara was in possession of Khandagiri and Kāñchi. Evidently this inscription was incised after the completion of the conquest of the Tamil country by Kapilēśvara.

According to Oriyā tradition, as recorded in the *Mādala Pāñji*, Kapilendra breathed his last on the banks of the Krishnā on Pausha Krishna 3, Tuesday, a date which the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti could not verify. His latest known date is still "41st aṅka, Dhanu, Sukla, 7=Sunday, 14th December 1466"²⁷ The traditional date of the death of Kapilēśvara given by Hunter and earlier writers is mistaken and incorrect. This is proved by the statement in the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir*²⁸ quoted above. This event, which took place in A.D. 1470, was hailed with great relief by the Mussalmans of Southern India.

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHEOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1926. Published by the Kern Institute, Leyden. 12½" x 9¼"; pp. x + 107; with 12 plates and 3 illustrations in the text. Leyden, 1928.

This publication is intended, we are told in the Foreword, "to contain the titles, systematically arranged, of all books and articles dealing with Indian archaeology in its widest sense, that is, the investigation of the antiquities not only of India proper, but also of Further India, Indonesia and Ceylon and in fact, of all territories influenced by Indian civilisation, as well as the study of the ancient history of those countries, the history of their art, their epigraphy, iconography and numismatics." The volume before us consists of an Introduction surveying the literature dealing with the more important exploration and research work carried out during the year, followed by a classified bibliography, arranged according to geographical areas and subjects. The contents of each publication have been briefly but adequately noted, and in many cases extracts from review notices quoted, the editors themselves abstaining from criticism. In the case of historical works, the entries are mainly

restricted to writings relating to the pre-Muhammadan period of Indian history. The desired data, we are informed, were not received from Italy, Japan and Russia; and it is thought probable that the information supplied regarding books and papers published in the Indian vernaculars is incomplete. Otherwise the selection of matter worthy of record seems to have been carefully and judiciously made. The experience gained as the compilation continues, and suggestions received from scholars using the work will indicate whether any modification or amplification can be introduced in future issues. The extensive survey of the literature relating to the more important work done during the year contained in the Introduction (pp. 1-28) is of special merit. Concise and clear, it describes the essential matters in each case, and bears the *cachet* of a scholar familiar with the history of the subjects discussed.

The importance to scholars and to all students of Indian Archaeology and history of a scientifically prepared bibliography of this character cannot be exaggerated; and the present volume will be widely welcomed as the beginning of what should supply a long-felt need. It should find a place in the library of every one interested in the antiquities

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 183.

²⁸ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXVIII, p. 285.

THE EMPIRE OF ORISSA.

By PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

(Continued from vol. LVII, p. 239.)

II. Purushottama (1470-87.)

The death of Kapilendra in 1470 was followed by a war of succession. Firishta states that two of the sons of Kapilendra named Maṅgal Rāi and Ambar Rāi were rival claimants for the throne and Ambar Rāi sought the alliance of the Bahmanī Sultān Muḥammad III, who had succeeded his elder brother Nizām Shāh on the 30th July 1463. At the time of his accession Muḥammad was in his tenth year, and therefore at the time of the death of Kapilendra his age could not have been more than eighteen. The *Burhān-i-ma'āzīr* assigns, perhaps more correctly than Firishta, another reason for the interference of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī in the affairs of the Orissan empire. According to this authority, "In this year the Queen-Mother, Maḥdūmah Jahān, died, and in A.H. 875 (A.D. 1470) the Sultān assumed the reins of government.

"In the midst of these affairs a messenger arrived from Teliṅgānā and informed the Sultān that the Rāya of Orissa, who was the principal *rāya* of Teliṅgānā was dead.

"The Sultān was rejoiced to hear this news, and resolved upon the conquest of these dominions; accordingly he held a council of war with his nobles and ministers. Mālik Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri, who was one of the favourites of Ilumāyūn Shāh, said:—"With Your Majesty's permission I will undertake this duty." The Sultān invested him with a special robe of honour, and despatched him with some of the other nobles in that direction."¹

On many different occasions the *Burhān-i-ma'āzīr* has proved itself to be far more reliable than Firishta where Bahmanī history is concerned. This is specially the case in Bahmanī genealogy. Firishta's version may therefore be regarded as unreliable. Muḥammad III could not have taken much interest in the campaign as he was too young, but his nobles found this to be a fitting opportunity to revenge themselves for the numerous defeats they had suffered at the hand of Kapilendra, e.g., the battle of Devārkoṇḍā, the invasion of the metropolitan district or Bidar etc. It is quite possible that at this time the Musalmans also interfered in the succession to the throne of Orissa; but the principal cause of the Musalman invasion was the weakness of the empire of Orissa at this particular moment.

Before proceeding with the narrative of the campaign, we should pause to consider the condition of the Eastern districts of the Indian Peninsula at the time of Kapilendra's death. The Bahmanī Sultāns had grown stronger for the time being, upon the attainment of majority of Muḥammad III, but the Yādava or Vodeyar dynasty of Vijayanagara was fast approaching extinction. There are reasons to suppose that the emperor Virūpāksha was alive in 1478, at least eight years after the death of Kapilendra in 1470.² The Śāluva chief Narasiṃha may have obtained the supreme power even in the life time of Virūpāksha II, but at the time of Kapilendra's death he was clearly still a subordinate. Narasa Nāyaka seems to have been serving under Śāluva Narasiṃha at this time. Like the Musalman generals and nobles of Muḥammad III Bahmanī, the commanders of Virūpāksha II also considered the death of the strong ruler of Orissa and the dissensions among his sons to be a very fitting opportunity for the reconquest of the districts in the Tamil and the Telugu country wrested from the Vijayanagara empire by the founder of the Śtūyavamaśa dynasty. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar considers that "Śāluva Narasiṃha's first service to the empire was the beating back of this enemy right up to Rajahmundry where the Bahmanī Sultān, Muḥammad, found him strongly entrenched in one of his campaigns."³ Now we are in a position to judge how it became possible for Śāluva Narasiṃha to be present on the banks of the Godāvari in 1474-75 when Muḥammad III besieged the strong fort of Rājamahendri

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXVIII, p. 285.

² *Epi. Ind.*, vol. VIII, App. II, p. 15. Quoted *Epi. Carn.*, vol. V, pt. I, p. 448, No. 153.

During the Civil war between the sons of Kapilendra the Bahmanis obtained a chance of regaining control over the hill districts of Telīnganā. When the Musalman advance into the coast-land of Telīnganā barred the way of Orissa into the Southern Telugu and Northern Tamil districts, then Śāḷuva Narasimha found it a comparatively easy job to reoccupy these districts and to include them once more in the empire of Vijayanagara. The history of these two different wars of Orissa with two of the greatest monarchies of Southern India must be studied separately.

The real cause of the Bahmani invasion of Orissa in 1470 has been already quoted from the *Burhān-i-ma'āzīr*. Nizām-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Bahri, who had obtained the command of the expedition, defeated the Orissan army somewhere in the Northern Telugu country and advanced upon Rājamahendri. Firishta says that in 1471=876 A.H. Ambar Rāi a cousin of the king of Orissa complained to Muḥammad III Bahmani that the throne of Orissa had been usurped by a Brahman (?) named Maṅgal Rāi, the adopted son of the king⁴, i.e., Kapilendra. We know definitely from the calculations of the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti that the first year or the second *aṅka* of the reign of Purushottama coincided with 1469-70. This calculation is based on two inscriptions in the *jagamohana* of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri⁵. Therefore the king of Orissa in 1471=876 A.H. could not have been a Brāhmaṇa. The Maṅgal Rāi, mentioned by Firishta, if he had real existence, must be another son of Kapilendra.

Firishta continues to state that Muḥammad III Bahmani was extremely desirous of obtaining some part of the dominions of Orissa on the Eastern coast, specially Rājamahendri and Koṇḍapalle. Firishta agrees with the *Burhān-i-ma'āzīr* in making Nizām-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Bahri the Commander of the expedition against Orissa. He then states that Ambar Rāi joined Ḥasan on the borders of Orissa. Ḥasan defeated Maṅgal Rāi and placed Ambar Rāi on the throne of Orissa. Ḥasan, then, proceeded to capture Rājamahendri and Koṇḍapalle⁶. There is no mention either of the Brāhmaṇa Maṅgal Rāi or of Ambar Rāi, the cousin of the late king of Orissa, in the *Burhān-i-ma'āzīr*. This book states directly that after the defeat of the Orissan army Nizam-ul-Mulk Hasan Bahri captured Rājamahendri and marched to the south-west against Koṇḍaviḍu. This is more natural as being the seat of an Orissan Viceroy. Koṇḍapalle is not mentioned in this work. Nizām-ul-Mulk Ḥasan besieged and captured Koṇḍaviḍu and several other forts in the neighbourhood. This is the first stage in the wars of Muḥammad III Bahmani with Purushottama.

Before we proceed to consider the second stage we must take into account the expansion of Vijayanagara under Śāḷuva Narasimha. Even during the life time of Virupākṣa II, Śāḷuva Narasimha had captured the South Arcot district. By 1474 he was in the possession of the entire eastern coast-land as far north as Rājamahendri when he met the Bahmani army manœuvring against Purushottama of Orissa. The details of Śāḷuva Narasimha's capture and conquest of the southern districts of the empire of Kapilendra are to be found in the *Śāḷuv-abhyudayam* of Rājanātha Pīṇḍima. In the fourth canto it is stated that when Śāḷuva Narasimha marched against the king of Kālīṅga, the latter came out at the head of his army, but was defeated and retired to his city, where, later on, he was besieged and compelled to surrender⁷. This statement is entirely unreliable, as we can prove from Musalman histories that there was no chance for Śāḷuva Narasimha to meet Purushottama on the field of battle at any time between 1469-70 and 1474-75, when we meet Purushottama and Sulṭān Muḥammad III Bahmani in the neighbourhood of Rājamahendri. Both Firishta and the *Burhān-i-ma'āzīr* make it sufficiently clear that Rājamahendri and

⁴ Briggs's *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, Calcutta, 1909, vol. II, p. 487.

⁵ JASB., vol. LXIX, 1900, pp. 482-3. ⁶ Briggs's *Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. II, pp. 487-88.

⁷ *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 91. This MS. proves the comparative unreliability of Indian literary works, specially Sanskrit mediæval works, in matters historical.

Therefore in A.D. 1480 Konḍaviḍu was included in the empire of Vijayanagara and the Bahmanī campaign of that year was directed against Telingānā and not the Tamil or Kanarese districts. This being so, it is much more likely that Śāḷuva Narasiṃha was present on the Godāvari near Rājamahendri in the campaign of 1474-77. We are not in a position to ascertain whether the Śāḷuva Chief was present on the banks of the Godāvari as an ally of Purushottama of Orissa or as a third party in the struggle. The omission of Śāḷuva Narasiṃha's part in the war of 1474-77 in Firishta's work proves its comparative unreliability when compared to the *Burhān-i-ma'āṣir*. Śāḷuva Narasiṃha had added the eastern coast-land of the Indian peninsula to the empire of Vijayanagara after the death of Kapilendra in 1470 and the subsequent Musalman conquest of the delta of the Godāvari. He had showed no resistance when Purushottama reoccupied the delta of Godāvari, but when Muḥammad III started to recover it, it was clearly to his interest to be present near the seat of war, because his own territories were contiguous to that of the king of Orissa. The statement in the *Burhān-i-ma'āṣir* about the Bahmanī campaign of 1480 proves clearly that the country to the south of the Kṛishṇā was included in the empire of Vijayanagara because the *talukā* of Narasaraōpet, in which Konḍaviḍu is now situated, lies immediately to the south of the lower course of the Kṛishṇā. The war of 1474-77 was, then, clearly for the possession of the Kṛishṇā-Godāvari Doāb. Purushottama had evidently given up all hopes of the southern districts of his father's extensive empire, and therefore there could have been no cause of enmity between the king of Orissa and the general or emperor of Vijayanagara. Virūpāksha II was still living, yet the out-lying provinces of the Hindu empire were in the possession of Śāḷuva Narasiṃha. As the *de facto* king of the eastern coast Śāḷuva Narasiṃha had to be present at or near Rājamahendri when Muḥammad III launched his great campaign against the king of Orissa in 1474. The object of the Bahmanī Sultān was the reoccupation of the Godāvari-Kṛishṇā Doāb, which he had conquered immediately after the death of Kapilendra. Was it the object of the Śāḷuva Chief to help the Hindu king of Orissa, or was he there simply to defend his own dominions? In view of the statement of the *Burhān-i-ma'āṣir* that Śāḷuva Narasiṃha retired without fighting it seems probable that when he found it unnecessary to engage the Musalmans for the defence of his own dominions he retired to a safe distance, leaving his common enemies to fight till exhaustion. Muḥammad III's invasion of Śāḷuva Narasiṃha's territories in 1480 may be construed in two different ways. In the first place it may be taken to be in revenge for the part played by Śāḷuva Narasiṃha in the campaign of 1474-77, or in the second place it may simply be a continuation of that campaign for the conquest of the whole of the Doāb from the Hindus. It appears that it was not to the interest of Śāḷuva Narasiṃha to ally himself with any of the contending parties because both were his natural enemies. It is more probable that Purushottama had to fight his battles without any help from the only Hindu power in Southern India which might have helped him. The campaign of 1474-77 ended in the total loss of the Godāvari-Kṛishṇā Doāb to the kingdoms of Orissa and Vijayanagara apparently owing to the impossibility of a coalition among the Hindu powers. But we must not put our faith in any of the grandiloquent tales narrated by Firishta about the sack of Cuttack and the submission of Purushottama. The campaign against Orissa was suddenly brought to an end on account of the necessity of a vigorous campaign against Śāḷuva Narasiṃha, and Mālik Nigām-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Bahrī was left in charge of the conquered provinces. The Bahmanī campaign of 1480 against Konḍaviḍu was followed by another against Malūr¹¹. Muḥammad III Bahmanī may or may not have resided for three years at Rājamahendri as stated by Firishta¹², but this is certain, that no further campaign against Purushottama was attempted by the Bahmanīs.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 289.

¹² *Brigg's Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. II, p. 497.

The scene on the political stage now changes swiftly. The murder of the great Musalman general and statesman Khwājah-i-Jahān Maḥmūd Gāwān Gilānī, on the 5th April 1481,¹³ was followed by a paralysis of aggressive Musalman policy, and the death of Muḥammad III Bahmanī, on the 26th March 1482¹⁴, was followed by the sudden dismemberment of the Bahmanī Empire. The long reign of the weak and imbecile Maḥmūd was a record of total disunion and incapacity of the Musalman leaders. The attitude of Purushottama can be explained partly from Firishta's narrative of the conspiracy of the Deccani party at the Bahmanī Court against Maḥmūd Gāwān. Nizām-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Bahrī forged a letter purporting to be a communication from Maḥmūd Gāwān that he was tired of Muḥammad III Bahmanī and ready to join the Rāya of Orissa¹⁵, i.e., Purushottama. The latter, if Firishta's account is true, was then still an object of fear to the Bahmanī Sulṭān. We do not know what happened to the Godāvarī-Krishṇā Doāb immediately before and after the murder of Maḥmūd Gāwān. According to Firishta the Hindu renegade Nizām-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Bahrī was permitted by Muḥammad III Bahmanī to govern the Doāb by a Deputy, his own son, Malik Aḥmad¹⁶. The story related by Firishta may or may not be true, but it is evident on the face of it that it was necessary for the old traitor Ḥasan to be at Court in order to mature the plan for the murder of his patron Maḥmūd Gāwān. As soon as Maḥmūd Gāwān is murdered and Muḥammad III Bahmanī is dead the actors on the stage, who have occupied it so long, vanish never to re-appear. After the murder of Malik Nizām-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Bahrī, his son Malik Nizām-ul-Mulk Aḥmad retires to the south-western part of the Bahmanī Empire, where he is busy carving out an independent kingdom for himself.

Immediately after his accession Maḥmūd had to undertake a campaign in Teliṅgānā before the murder of Mālik Nizām-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Bahrī¹⁷. The result of this campaign is not known, but the very silence of the *Burhān-i-ma'adīr* proves that it was unfavourable. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bahmanī could not proceed eastwards from Varangal. This possibly indicates a re-occupation of Teliṅgānā by Purushottama. Within six years of the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad III Bahmanī, Godāvarī-Krishṇā Doāb had been re-occupied by the troops of Orissa, and Purushottama was in possession of Koṇḍavidu, so much coveted by the Musalmans, and the Guntur district. This is proved definitely by two inscriptions, one discovered at Koṇḍavidu dated 1488-89, = the Jovian year *Kīlaka*¹⁸, and the second at some unknown place in Teliṅgānā, published in 1827 in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Madras*, dated Śaka 1412, the year *Saumya*, Karttika Śukla 15 Sa (*nau*), = Saturday, November 7th, 1489¹⁹. There can not be any doubt about the fact that Koṇḍavidu and Ongole²⁰ had passed out of the possession of Śāluva Narasiṃha when he was the recognised Emperor of Vijayanagara.

(To be continued.)

¹³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 291.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

¹⁵ *Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. II, p. 506.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

¹⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 306.

¹⁸ Sewell, *Sketch of South Indian Dynasties*, p. 48; Chakravarti, *JASB.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 183; the Śaka year 1411.

¹⁹ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. XIII, pp. 155-58.

²⁰ The places mentioned in the grant of Śaka 1412 are situated in the Ongole Taluka of the Guntur district.

THE EMPIRE OF ORISSA.

BY PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

(Continued from p. 33.)

The last king of the Vodeyar or Yādava dynasty had ceased to occupy the throne sometime after 1478, and from 1486 to 1493 Narasimha was the recognised sovereign of Vijayanagara. Yet it was exactly during this period that the northern districts of Telingāna were wrested by Purushottama from the Empire of Vijayanagara. What followed exactly is extremely difficult to ascertain even now. Sāluva Narasimha is regarded by contemporary European writers as being supreme in Southern India. Yet we find that Telingāna was slipping out of his grasp during the earlier part of his actual reign. There are reasons to suppose that towards the end of his reign Purushottama attacked Vijayanagara and brought the idol Śākshīgopāla and a jewelled throne from that place. As noticed by the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti in his edition of the Bengali poem *Śrī-Chaitanya-Charitāmṛta* by the Vaiṣṇava saint Kṛṣṇa-Dāsa Kavirāja, Purushottama conquered Vijayanagara and brought a jewelled throne and the idol of Śākshīgopāla from Vidyanagara. The throne was presented to Jagannātha at Puri and idol was dedicated at Kuṭak²¹. Those who have examined the celebrated *ratna-vedi*, or the stone altar on which the wooden images of Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Balarāma are placed in the temple at Puri, must have noticed a surprising resemblance of the decorative *motifs* to those inside the Hāzāra-Rāmaswāmī temple at Hampe or Vijayanagara. The upper front ends of the *ratna-vedi* at Puri are incomplete and several stone members appear to be missing. I think that the *ratna-vedi* is the actual jewelled throne brought by Purushottama from Vijayanagara. There are no reasons to disbelieve Gosvāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, as he was a contemporary of Purushottama and his son Pratāparudra and was no court-sycophant. He had no reason to be grateful to the kings of Orissa and wrote his work after his retirement to Brindāvana. Besides this statement there are many other reasons for believing that the whole of the eastern coast was conquered by the kings of Orissa during the reigns of Sāluva Narasimha and his sons. Inscriptions of his son and successor, Pratāparudra, have been discovered as far south as Udayagiri and Kāñchi or Conjeeveram. It is difficult to determine the exact chronology of the events connected with the reconquest of the eastern coast under Purushottama. He lost it during the first six years of his reign and he himself regained it during the last ten. Oriyā or Bengali writers do not mention a campaign against Vijayanagara during the reign of his son, but do so in his case. It is quite possible that the reconquest of the Northern Tamil districts took place after the death of Sāluva Narasimha in 1493 and during the reign of Immādi Narasimha (1493-98). According to the calculations of the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti, Purushottama died in 1496-97, a date which cannot be very far removed from the truth. The same writer, observing in 1900, stated that "the few details given in the *Mādala Pāñji* are mainly taken up in describing an expedition of this king into Kāñchi. If there be any truth in it, then it is likely connected with the raid of the Bahmanī king Muḥammad Shāh II, who in A.D. 1477-8 made a dash towards Conjeeveram, and returned with an immense booty²²". In the first place the late Mr. Chakravarti committed the usual mistake of all earlier writers of following the Bahmanī genealogy of Firishṭa, though Major J. S. King's new genealogy was in print when he wrote. The Bahmanī genealogy based on the *Burhān-i-ma'āṣir* has been accepted, and that of Firishṭa²³ definitely rejected by subsequent writers²⁴. Muḥammad Shāh II Bahmanī should be taken to be Muḥammad Shāh III Bahmanī. The same mistake has been committed recently by Dr. L. D. Barnett in his paper on "The Potavaram Grant of Purushottama-deva"²⁵. It has been proved above that it was

²¹ *Madhya Līlā*, Chap. 5, Baṅgavāsī edition, p. 98. ²² *JASB.*, vol. LXIX, p. 184.²³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVII, p. 121.²⁴ *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. II, part II, p. 198, by H. N. Wright, I.C.S.²⁵ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. XIII, p. 156.

not possible for Purushottama to conduct a campaign in any part of South India lying to the south of the Krishna before 1488, because up to 1487, at least, the Godavari-Krishna *Dodda* was in the possession of the Bahmanis and it was impossible for any army from Orissa to cross into the Tamil country. Therefore the campaign of Purushottama against Kāñchi must have taken place some time subsequent to the recapture of Konḍaviḍu. It appears to be much more probable that Purushottama reconquered the lost provinces of his father's empire in the Telugu and Tamil districts after the death of Sāluva Narasimha in 1493. It further appears probable that the Tuḷuva chief Narasana met Purushottama during the campaigns of 1489-97.

Purushottama's career was a chequered one. Early in his reign he lost the southern provinces of his father's empire, and he had to encounter two invasions of the Bahmani Sultāns in 1471 and 1475. Later on, after the death of Maḥmūd Gāwān and Muḥammad III Bahmani, he succeeded in re-occupying the stronghold of Konḍaviḍu and the northern part of the modern district of Guntur. Subsequently, during the last years of his reign, he extended the Empire of Orissa once more as far south as Conjeeveram. The chronology of his reign is so little known to scholars that even in 1919 the late Tarini Charn Rath, writing about this king, had to state "It is rather difficult at present to fix with precision the date of this Kāñchi-Kāveri expedition of king Purushottama Deva and find out the name of his contemporary king of Kārṇāṭa, with whom he waged war and whose daughter Padmavathi he married."²⁶

If the *Mādala Pāñji* is to be believed then Purushottama erected the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* in front of the temple of Jagannātha. Following this custom three separate *maṇḍapas* have been erected in front of all important temples in Orissa. The temple of Jagannātha at Puri consists of four separate buildings :—(a) The *Vimāna* or the Sanctum, (b) the *Jagamohana* or the principal *maṇḍapa*, (c) the *Nāṭamandira* or the dancing hall, and (d) the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* or the refectory. The same plan is to be observed in the temples of Liṅgarāja at Bhuvaneśvara and Pārvaṭi in the same enclosure. I had ample opportunity of studying the method of construction of the Liṅgarāja and the Pārvaṭi temples when they were being repaired according to my instructions in 1925-26, and I found that both the *Nāṭamandira* and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* in these two temples were later additions. At Puri, the temple of Jagannātha was built at three different periods; the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* were erected by king Anantavarman Choḍaganga in the eleventh century²⁷, the *Nāṭamandira* by Anagabhīma II of the same dynasty in the twelfth century²⁸ and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* with the kitchen in the seventh (1473-74) and ninth *aṅkas* (1475-76) of Purushottama²⁹.

In another line Purushottama introduced an innovation. Up to the time of Narasimha IV land-grants in Orissa were issued after being written on plates of copper. We can trace this system from the time of the Emperor Kumāragupta I up to that of Rāmachandra Gajapati of Khurda.³⁰ The usual form of these copper plates is rectangular. Purushottama issued a grant on a piece of copper roughly shaped like an axe of the same shape as the Pachambā copper celts.³¹ The other innovation introduced by Purushottama into his land-grants was the definite rejection of the proto-Bengali script in favour of modern Oṛiyā.³²

²⁶ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. V, 1919, p. 149.

²⁷ *JASB.*, vol. LXVII, pt. I, 1898, pp. 330-31; vol. LXXII, 1903, p. 110.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. LXXII, pt. I, 1903, p. 120. According to Mr. Chakravarti the temple was begun by Anantavarman but finished by Anagabhīma.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, pt. I, p. 184.

³⁰ *Journ. of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. II, 1916, pp. 437-440.

³¹ Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, pt. II, pp. 392-95.

³² *Ante*, vol. I, pp. 355-6; *Journ. of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. IV, pp. 361-63.

This grant was issued in the seventeenth instead of the fifth *aiika*—7th April 1483³³. Almost all subsequent genuine land-grants of Orissa from the time of Purushottama till the eighteenth century were inscribed in Oriyâ characters. Purushottama is said to have been the youngest son of Kapilendra according to Oriyâ tradition, as recorded by the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, and to have married Padmâvatî or Rupâmbikâ, the daughter of the king of Kārṇāṭa (? Sâḷuva Narasiṃha) according to the Introduction of the *Sarasvatî-vilâsam* by his son and successor Pratâparudra.³⁴

III. Pratâparudra (1497—1539).

The decline of Orissa begins from the date of the accession of Pratâparudra, the son and successor of Purushottama. It can be gathered from the inscriptions of Purushottama that he had left the empire of Orissa almost as extensive as that inherited by him from his own father Kapilendra. Pratâparudra ruled over an empire which extended from Midnapur in the North-East to Conjeeveram or Kâñchi in the South-West and we know from the inscriptions of his contemporary, Krishnadevarâya the great, of Vijayanagara, that a large portion of the highlands of Teliṅgānâ, such as Khammamet, also belonged to him. He came to the throne in 1496-97, a date which is calculated from his only *aiika* date in the inscription in the temple of Jagannâtha at Puri; 4th *aiika*, Kâkara, śu 10, Wednesday = 17th July 1499 A.D.³⁵ The 3rd regnal year, therefore, is 1499, making his accession fall in 1496-97. The period was very favourable for the extension of the power of Orissa towards the south and the west. The imbecile Maḥmūd was on the throne of Bidar and the great Musalman kingdoms of the south were already formed; therefore there was no immediate chance of a Musalman irruption into the Godâvari-Krishṇâ Doâb. After the death of Immâḍi Nārasimha the Sâḷuva dynasty was fast approaching extinction, and Narasa Nāyaka, the founder of the Ṭuḷuva dynasty, was consolidating his power. From 1497 till 1511 Pratâparudra could have annexed the whole of the eastern coast without meeting serious opposition from the king of Vijayanagara or Narasa Nāyaka, but the history of Orissa was fast approaching that period of political stagnation, the climax of which was reached between 1510 and 1533, when the great Vaiṣṇava reformer Śrī-Chaitanya of Bengal came into close contact with this province.

Most probably Narasa Nāyaka died in 1502 and was succeeded by his son Vira-Nārasimha.³⁶ Immâḍi-Nārasimha was still living and was in a position to make a grant of land in the Penukoṇḍâ rājya in 1505.³⁷ Nunez says that during the six years of his rule Bhujabalarâya was always at war. As soon as his father died the entire country revolted under the Nāyakas.³⁸ He was at war with the Musalman Governor of Goa in 1506 according to the Italian traveller Varthema.³⁹ The late Mr. Hoskote Kṛishṇa Śâstri committed a mistake when he stated that the Gajapati kings occupied Udayagiri and Koṇḍaviḍu during this interval and that they were situated in Kārṇāṭa. Though he quotes the authority of an inscription in which it is stated that Udayagiri was in the centre of Kārṇāṭa-Kâṭaka,⁴⁰ it is preposterous to suppose that Udayagiri could at any time have been included in Kārṇāṭa. It was certainly included in the Kārṇāṭa Empire when the Nellore and Guntur districts formed part of Vijayanagara territories. Krishnadevarâya succeeded his brother in spite of counter-intrigues in December 1509 or January 1510. One of the principal aims of his life was the reconquest of the Kṛishṇâ-Tuṅgabhadra or the Râichuru Doâb. Two inscriptions from Nâgalâpuram in the Chingleput district prove that these aims of the new king were known to the people, and a man actually preferred a request to the king to endow a temple after his victorious return from the expedition against the Gajapati.

³³ *JASB.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 183.

³⁴ *Journ. of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. V, 1919, pp. 147-48.

³⁵ *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. LXXIX, 1900, Part I, p. 184.

³⁶ *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1908-9, p. 171.

³⁷ *R. Sewall, A Forgotten Empire*, p. 314.

³⁸ *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1908-9, p. 173, note 6.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

We do not know for what reasons the campaign against the Gajapati, *i.e.*, Pratāparudra of Orissa, was preferred to that against Isma'il 'Ādil I of Bijāpur. According to a Telugu prose work named *Rāyavāchakamu*, Kṛṣṇadevarāya marched against Bijāpur immediately after the capture of Sivaṇasamudram.⁴¹ But the arrangement of the events of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's regime in this work appear to be fanciful because campaigns cannot have been conducted in the way or in the order in which they are narrated in it. In this paper we are not concerned with the campaigns against Bijāpur and Bidar but only with those which were directed against the Empire of Orissa. The first recorded date in the series of campaigns conducted by Kṛṣṇadevarāya against Pratāparudra of Orissa is that of the capture of Udayagiri. Kṛṣṇadevarāya brought an image of Bālakṛṣṇa from Udayagiri, which was dedicated by him in 1514. Udayagiri therefore must have fallen sometime earlier, though an inscription in the Hazāra-Rāmasvāmī temple at Vijayanagara indicates that Udayagiri was holding out in 1513. Kṛṣṇadevarāya devastated the eastern coast and drove back the Orissan army as far as Koṇḍavidu before the capture of Udayagiri.⁴²

The contemporary Portuguese writer Nuncz gives a detailed account of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's campaigns against Pratāparudra of Orissa. According to him Narasa Nāyaka "in his testament had enjoined on his successors the necessity of taking the fortresses of Racholl (Raichur), Medegulla (Mudkal), and Odigair (Udayagiri). He,⁴³ therefore, collected 34,000 foot-soldiers and 800 elephants, and arrived with his army at Digary (Udayagiri), which, although its garrison numbered only 10,000 foot soldiers and 400 horse, was nevertheless a very strong place on account of its natural position. The king laid siege to it for a year and a half, cutting roads through the surrounding hills in order to gain access to the towers of the fortress, and finally took it by force of arms. On this occasion an aunt of the king of Orissa fell into his hands."⁴⁴ There is some difference of opinion among the modern writers about the subsequent course of events. Some writers think that Kṛṣṇadevarāya returned to Vijayanagara after the capture of Udayagiri, while others maintain that he pushed on to Koṇḍavidu. According to the inscriptions, one Tirumala Rautarāya or Tirumalai Rāhuttarāya was captured at Udayagiri. Kanarese and Telugu inscriptions on Udayagiri hill mention the capture at Udayagiri of an uncle of Pratāparudra named Tirmula Rāghavarāya or Tirumala Kāṇṭharāya. This Rāghavarāya and Kāṇṭharāya appears to be the same as the Rautarāya and Rāhutyarāya of other inscriptions than those found on Udayagiri hill, because the term Rāūtatrāya, used in the case of younger sons of kings of Orissa, was not known to the late Mr. Kṛṣṇa Śāstri even in 1908.

The second expedition against Pratāparudra was undertaken shortly after the fall of Udayagiri, against the strong fort of Koṇḍavidu. Evidently Pratāparudra had made Koṇḍavidu the base of his operations, as Kṛṣṇadevarāya laid siege to it. According to Nuncz, "the king of Orissa approached with a large army in defence of his country. When Kṛṣṇarāya had heard of this, he left a portion of his troops at Koṇḍavidu as a guard against any attack from behind, and advanced himself four miles (*leguas*). On the banks of a 'great river with salt water,' which apparently is the Kṛṣṇā, a battle took place which ended in the defeat and flight of the king of Orissa. After this victory the king told his 'regedor' Salvatinea (Sālva-Timma) that he intended to continue the siege of Koṇḍavidu. After two months the fortress surrendered, and Sālva-Timma was appointed Governor of Koṇḍavidu. But as he wished to accompany the king on his further expedition against the king of Orissa, he conferred, on his part, the governorship on one of his brothers. After taking the fortress of Condepallur (Koṇḍapalle) and occupying the country as far north as Symamdar, Kṛṣṇarāya made a peace with the king of Orissa and married one of his daughters."⁴⁵ Koṇḍavidu

⁴¹ *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 111.

⁴² *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1908-9, p. 176.

⁴³ Kṛṣṇadevarāya.

⁴⁴ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. VII, p. 19; Sewall, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 131, for the date of the fall of Udayagiri, cf. *Epi. Ind.*, vol. VI, p. 110, note 5.

⁴⁵ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. VI, p. 110.

was captured on Saturday the 23rd June 1515, and the date is given many times in the Maṅgalagiri inscriptions.⁴⁶ One of the most important events connected with this campaign was the capture of Pratāparudra's son, Virabhadra, by Kṛṣṇadevarāya. According to the Koṇḍavidu chronicle this Virabhadra was the viceroy of Koṇḍavidu province for a long time. The Koṇḍavidu chronicle has been interpreted too narrowly by Sewell and other writers. It says that Pratāparudra ruled for one year, which means that he was in charge of Koṇḍavidu *daṇḍapāta* for one year only and was succeeded in the Viceroyalty, on the death of Puruṣhotama and his own succession to the throne of Orissa, by his son Virabhadra, who remained there till his defeat by Kṛṣṇadevarāya in 1515.⁴⁷ Many other notables of Orissa were captured at Koṇḍavidu along with Virabhadra. One of these was Keśava Pātra and another Kumārahammira Mahāpātra. Certain Vijayanagara inscriptions mention two Musalman generals, named Mallū Khān and Uddanda Khān of Rachuru (Raichur), among the notables captured at Koṇḍavidu. Mallū Khān can be recognized, but it is difficult to reduce the term Uddanda to its original Persian or Arabic form. The late Mr. H. Krishna Śāstri argues from the connection of Raichur with these two names that they were officers or nobles or the 'Ādilshāhī Sulṭāns of Bijāpur. It is quite possible that Isma'il 'Ādil-Shāh, being the nearest neighbour of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, was much more interested in his movements than Sulṭān Qulī Qutb Shāh of Golkonda or the Bahmani *roi fainéants* of Bidar. The acquisition of help from a Musalman neighbour to fight with a Hindu adversary involved a moral and political degradation in the Hindu world, which can be easily understood by those who are familiar with mediæval Rājput History. This was not the only occasion on which Pratāparudra employed Musalman mercenaries against Kṛṣṇadevarāya.

After the fall of Koṇḍavidu, Kṛṣṇadevarāya consolidated his conquests by the reduction of important inland fortresses in the country at the foot of the ghāts; such as Vinukoṇḍa on the Gundlakamma river and Ballamkonda near Amarāvati. In the third campaign the conqueror crossed the Kṛṣṇā and camped at Bezwādā. His objective this time was the great hill fort of Koṇḍapalle, where, according to Nuncz, "we collected all the chiefs of the kingdom of Orya." The fall of Koṇḍapalle practically marked the end of the campaign. It was in charge of the Oriya Minister Praharāja Śiraśchandra Mahāpātra. The late Mr. H. Krishna Śāstri is certainly right in correcting the wrong forms of this title in other Telugu and Tamil inscriptions of the time of Kṛṣṇadevarāya. Among the Oriya notables captured after the fall of Koṇḍapalle was a queen of Pratāparudra, another of his sons and seven principal nobles. An inscription from Kalahasti mentions two of the last named, Boḍajennā Mahāpātra and Bijli Khān. The first term is composed of two Oriya titles, Bada-jenā and Mahāpātra. Similarly Praharāja-Śiraśchandra-Mahāpātra is a single title in Oriyā, composed of three small titles, and not a proper name. The name Bijli Khān proves that Pratāparudra was continuing to employ Musalman mercenaries against Kṛṣṇadevarāya, after the fall of Koṇḍavidu.

From Koṇḍapalle Kṛṣṇadevarāya continued his victorious march northwards and acquired all the districts of the sea-board, including the hill-districts of Nalgonda and Khammamet, at present in the Nizām's dominions. He arrived at Simhāchalam, on the outskirts of Vizagapatam and is said to have planted or erected a pillar of victory on that hill. The late Mr. H. Krishna Śāstri stated that "there exist even today records in Telugu characters written on the basement of the entrance into the *Asthāna-Mandapa* and on a pillar on the Verandah round the Lakshminarasimhasvāmin temple at Simhāchalam, which relate in unmistakeable terms the victories of Kṛṣṇarāya, his stay at Simhādri and his gifts to the temple."⁴⁸ According to the *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* and other Telugu works Kṛṣṇadevarāya devastated Orissa proper and burnt its capital Kaṭaka. But there is no epigraphical corroboration of these statements. Kṛṣṇadevarāya was at Simhāchalam in 1516 and three years

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 111.⁴⁷ *A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, Madras, 1883, p. 48.⁴⁸ *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1908-9, p. 179.

later "he made over to the temple at Sindhachalam certain villages which were granted to him by the Gajapati king. Whether these latter were the voluntary gifts of the Gajapati ruler on behalf of his ally Krishnarāya or were wrung from him by a regular raid on his capital, are points which cannot be decided at present."⁴⁹

We see, therefore, that Krishnadevarāya conducted three or four campaigns against Orissa and in 1519 compelled Pratāparudra to cede that part of his empire which lay to the south of the Krishnā. According to Nunez, Pratāparudra gave one of his daughters in marriage to Krishnadevarāya.⁵⁰ This marriage is also mentioned in the *Rāyavāchakamu*, where the Orissa princess is called Jaganmohini.⁵¹ The marriage is also referred to in the *Krishna-rāya-vijayam* and *Tamīl Nāvalar Charitai*.⁵² The Orissan princess is also called Tukkā. "She is said to have been neglected by her husband and to have led a life of seclusion at Kambam in the Kuddapah district."⁵³ The prince Virabhadra was maintained in a suitable style after his capture, and honourably provided for. He became the Governor of the district of Mālega-Bepnur-sime and remitted the taxes on marriages in 1516, for the merit of his father Pratāparudra and his sovereign Krishnadevarāya.⁵⁴

Such was the ignominious end of the empire founded by Kapilendra in the previous century. It lasted for a little less than a century and was reduced to its former dimensions before 1520. The decline of Orissa was rapid. Within forty years Jāipur was in the occupation of Ghīyāsu'd-dīn Jalāl Shāh of Bengal and the Hindu kingdom of Northern Orissa came to a sudden end within three years of the great battle of Talikota.

On the north Pratāparudra was attacked by Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn Husain Shāh, the founder of the Saiyad dynasty of Bengal. The exact date of this invasion is not known to us from reliable sources. According to the *Riyāzu's-salātīn* Husain Shāh conquered all kingdoms between Gaur and Orissa.⁵⁵ If the *Mādālā Pāñji* is to be believed then Orissa was invaded in 1509 under Isma'il Ghāzī. The *Mādālā Pāñji* bears on the face of it the stamp of being a later concoction because even a careful scholar like the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti makes use of the term "Bengal Nawab" in connection with the independent Sulṭāns of Bengal. "In A.D. 1509 Ismail Ghāzī (named *Surasthāna* in *M. Pāñji*), a general of the Bengal Nawab made a dash into Orissa, ravaged the country, sacked Puri Town and destroyed a number of Hindu temples. Pratāparudra hurried from the south and the Mahomedan general retreated. He was closely pursued and defeated on the bank of the Ganges (*M. Pāñji*). The general took refuge in Fort Māndāran (sub-division Jahanabad, district Hooghly), and was besieged. But one of the Rāja's high officers, Govinda Vidyādhara, went over to the enemy's side; and so the Rāja had to raise the siege and to retire to Orissa."⁵⁶ In the first place the title *Nawāb* was not used in India till the middle of the first half of the eighteenth century. In fact there was no *Nawāb* or Musalman governor of any other king in Bengal at that time. From 1339 to 1538 Bengal was ruled by independent monarchs.⁵⁷ In the second place though a Musalman general named Shāh Isma'il Ghāzī is claimed to be a contemporary of Sulṭān Ruknu'd-dīn Bārbak Shāh of Bengal by an anonymous work sometimes called *Risālatu'sh-shuhādā*,⁵⁸ he is really a contemporary of 'Alāu'd-dīn Husain Shāh, because his tomb at Kānpā Duār in the southern part of the Rangpur district of Bengal bears an inscription of the time of Husain Shāh. The inscription was originally incised on two slabs of black flint, one of which has been missing for a long time. I saw an impression of the first half in the house of Rai Bahadur Mrityunjay Raichaudhuri, Zamindar of Kundi pargana at Sadyapushkarini. The devastation of Orissa by Isma'il Ghāzī during

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁵⁰ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 320.

⁵¹ *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 116.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 155.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁵⁴ *Epi. Carn.*, vol. IX, Dg. 107.

⁵⁵ *Riyāzu-s-Salātīn*, English translation (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 132.

⁵⁶ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. LXIX, p. 186.

⁵⁷ *Bānglādar Itihās*, vol. II, pp. 29—285.

⁵⁸ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, vol. XLIII, pp. 215-20.

the reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Hussain Shāh is also mentioned in the celebrated Bengali biography of the Vaishnava saint Śrī-Chaitanya, the *Chaitanya-Bhāgavata*; Antya Khāṇḍa, 2nd Athyāya. Chaitanya's influence over Pratāparudra appears to have been immense. Even if we accept one-tenth of what the biographies of Śrī-Chaitanya say about the saint's influence over Pratāparudra and his principal officers, then we have to admit that Śrī-Chaitanya was one of the principal causes of the political decline of Orissa at this time and the loss of its independence 28 years after the death of Pratāparudra. Considered as a religion, Indian *Bhaktimārga* is sublime, but its effect on the political status of the country or the nation which accepts it, is terrific. The religion of equality and love brings in its train a false faith in men and thereby destroys the structure of society and government because in reality no two men are equal in any respect and government depends upon brute force. Orissa not only lost her empire but also her political prestige. A century of Vaishnavism reduced this great people to a state of caste-ridden stagnation in which even famine-stricken people are obliged to form themselves into a separate caste (Sātra-khivā). Chaitanya is said to have converted Pratāparudra before the beginning of the Vijayanagara war. Among the officers of the king Rāmānanda Rāi, governor of Rājamahendri before its loss, and Gopinātha Barājēnā, governor of Maljyāthā *daṇḍapāṭa*, or Midnapur, were converted to Neo-Vaishnavism.

We do not know what happened to this religiously minded and cowardly king after the retirement of Krishnadevarāya. Vijayanagara panegyrists credit him with another invasion of the Southern Hindu Empire after the death of Krishnadevarāya. The statement is hardly credible, because Pratāparudra is said to have retired hastily from this campaign, after reading some verses in Telugu composed by Krishnadevarāya's favourite Telugu poet Allasāni Peddāna.⁵⁹

On another side another enemy of the kingdom of Orissa was rising swiftly. Sultān Qulī Qutb Shāh Hamadānī, the Viceroy of the Eastern Provinces of the Bahmanī Empire, was the most faithful among the faithless *Tarafdārs* of the Bahmanī Empire. He had deferred the declaration of his independence till 1512; but after that date he had begun to consolidate his power in the ancient province of Telūgānā. When Isma'īl 'Ādil I and Krishnadevarāya were fighting in the south the veteran Sultān Qulī Qutb found it a fitting opportunity to despoil the religious monarch of Orissa.⁶⁰ He entered into the Godāvari-Krishnā *Dodh*, left the Vijayanagara districts on the coast-land severely alone and descended upon the southern districts of Orissa.⁶¹ This was the beginning of the advance of the Qutb-Shāhis northwards

⁵⁹ *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 153.

⁶⁰ This is the only possible time when Sultān Qulī's invasion of Telūgānā may be regarded as possible. Briggs thought that the invasion of Orissa took place in 1511 (see "Comparative Chronology of Deccan kingdoms principally during the Sixteenth Century" at the end of vol. III, Cambray's edition of 1910). He actually puts the capture of Ballamkonda and Kōṇḍapalle against this date. But in the text he says "After having repaired the foot of Golkonda, Sultān Kooly Kootb Shah turned his thoughts towards the reduction of the fortress of Raykonda" (Brigg's *Rise of the Mahomedan Powers*, vol. III, p. 354.) This happened after his declaration of independence (1512). The war with the Gajapati, i.e., Pratāparudra, took place long afterwards, after the supposed victories of the Muslims of Golkonda over Krishnadevarāya. Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti is quite correct in placing the war in 1522.

⁶¹ The long rambling narrative of Firishṭa bears on its face the stamp of untruth and confusion. In the first place there was no king in Orissa named Rāmachandra Gajapati between 1512 and 1543 or the entire reign of Sultān Qulī Qutb Shāh. In the next place Krishnadevarāya ascended the throne in 1509-10. The campaign against Orissa began early in 1512, as Udayagiri fell in 1513, Kōṇḍavidu in 1515 and Kōṇḍapalle in 1517. Firishṭa makes Sultān Qulī capture Ballamkonda, Kōṇḍvidu and Kōṇḍapalle. The series of records of Krishnadevarāya at Kōṇḍavidu, Kaza, Maṅgalagiri and finally at Simhāchalam-Potnuru prove Firishṭa's narrative of this war to be totally false and baseless. If Sultān Qulī Qutb Shāh had really fought against Krishnadevarāya in his campaigns of 1512-19, then it must have been as the ally of Pratāparudra, and he must have shared the defeat of his ally. There is no mention of the capture of Kōṇḍavidu by Muslims in the Indian Chronicles (Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties*, p. 48). I have mentioned Kōṇḍapalle because Sewell mentions an inscription of Sultān Qulī at that place (*Ibid.*, p. 28). Most probably this confused account is due to Firishṭa's mistake of taking Rāmachandra Gajapati of Khurda as a contemporary of Krishnadevarāya.

which ended with the capture of Ganjam in 1571 and Chicacole in 1641.⁶³ Thus the Oriyâ speaking districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and the three Khimidis came to be included in the Qutb Shâhi kingdom of Golkonda and passed on to the Mughal *shâh* of Golkonda or Khujistâ-bunyâd Haidarâbâd in 1687. The ill-fated Nizâm of the Deccan granted them to the great French General Bussy. In 1765 the hapless Shâh 'Âlam II was persuaded by Clive to include the transfer of the Northern *Sarkârs* from the French to the British East India Company, though they were actually in the possession of the latter from 1761. On account of this freak of fortune these Oriyâ-speaking districts still form a part of the British Presidency of Madras.

Pratâparudra survived the death of his royal son-in-law by nearly ten years. No other incident of his reign is known to us. But before taking leave of his reign we should examine certain references to it in the histories of other provinces. The *Râyavâchakamu* mentions another Musalman general employed by Pratâparudra in his campaigns against Krishna-devarâya. This chief is mentioned as Chitâprâ or Chitâph Khân by Prof. S. K. Aiyangar of the Madras University, who has sought to prove him a Hindu in spite of Haig's recognition of the man as a Musalman.⁶³ Chitâph Khân seems to be the Telugu equivalent of Shitâb Khân. He is apparently mentioned as a free-lance, as he restored Varangal to the Hindus.⁶⁴ There remains only one other incident of this reign. Narasa Nâyaka is said to have defeated the king of Orissa in certain Vijayanagara inscriptions. We have seen before that Purushottama could not have come into contact with Sâluva Narasimha or Narasa Nâyaka before the reconquest of Kondavidu by him.⁶⁵ After 1488-89 it was possible for Narasa to have met either Purushottama or Pratâparudra in the southern part of Telingânâ. The Unmanjeri plates of Achyûtarâya of the Śaka year 1462 = 1540 A. D.⁶⁶ and the British Museum plates of Sadâśivârâya of the Śaka year 1478 = 1550 A. D.⁶⁷ mention the war between Narasa and the Gajapati king in such a manner as to indicate that the victory obtained was practically of no importance. It is absolutely certain that up to the last day of his life Narasa was very busy in consolidating his own position, as Immâdi Narasimha was alive. The statement of Nunez makes it probable that by the time of his death in 1502 Narasa had recovered the northern Tamil and the southern Telugu districts as far as Udayagiri in the Nellore district, because his dying injunction to his son was to recover Udayagiri at all costs. It is, therefore, also probable that after Purushottama's death, and before the capture of Udayagiri in 1513, Pratâparudra had lost the territories lying to the south of Udayagiri.

The date of the death of Pratâparudra is not certain. We only know that the usurper, Govinda Vidyâdhara, was on the throne in 1543, and that was his fourth *aûka*. The Sûryavamî dynasty had, therefore, come to an end before 1541. The *Mâdalâ Pânji* states that two sons of Pratâparudra, named Kâlûâ and Kakhârûâ, had succeeded their father and ruled for a few months. But it is very dangerous to rely on the *Mâdalâ Pânji* without independent corroboration. Inscription No. 5 on the right side of the *Jagamohana* of the temple of Jagannâtha at Puri proves that Govinda Vidyâdhara was on the throne in 1541-42. With him began the decline of the political power of Orissa and the very existence of that country as an independent state was over within 27 years. From this date began the creation of feudatory states and old zamîndâris of Orissa (Garhjat and Qila'-jat), many of which exist even now and claim to be descended from dynasties older than the Sûryavamî dynasty, Râjpût or otherwise.

⁶³ Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, vol. I, p. 215.

⁶³ T. W. Haig, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, pp. 85-6

⁶⁴ *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 155.

⁶⁶ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 152.

⁶⁵ See *ante*, p. 30

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 12.

